

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-11 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 024424

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: GROMYKO'S DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

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1. YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING TO BRIEF SYG LUNS AND

PERMREPS ON SUBSTANCE OF ISSUES OF CONCERN TO ALLIES THAT AROSE IN DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON FEBRUARY 3-5.

2. LARGE PART OF DISCUSSION WAS RELATED TO MIDDLE EAST AND BILATERAL US-USSR ISSUES.

3. WITH REGARD TO CSCE, GROMYKO TOOK FAMILIAR SOVIET LINE, INDICATING DISPLEASURE WITH PROGRESS THUS FAR AT CONFERENCE. HE SAW LITTLE CONCRETE ADVANCE TO DATE TOWARD RESOLVING REAL ISSUES. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE, TOO, WISH TO MOVE FORWARD AT GENEVA AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

4. TURNING TO SPECIFIC CSCE ISSUES, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE FAVOR AN IMPROVED SITUATION WITH REGARD TO HUMAN CONTACTS A PROBLEM REMAINS, HOWEVER, IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIET DESIRE FOR A REFERENCE TO DOMESTIC LAWS AND CUSTOMS. GROMYKO SAID THAT THE VERY CRUX OF THE PROBLEM FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW WAS HOW TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. IF THAT PRINCIPLE CAN BE MET, THE SOVIETS CAN *NSCRIBE IN THE DECLARATION THAT ALL STATES FAVOR MAXIMUM TIES OF CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER KINDS, AND WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO PROMOTE HUMAN CONTACTS.THEY WERE NOT AFRAID OF THEM. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT PHYSICALLY THE USSR CANNOT RECEIVE AS MANY TOURISTS AS COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. THE MAIN POINT, HE SAID, WAS THAT CSCE MUST RULE OUT ENTIRELY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. HE HOPED THAT THE CENTRAL PROBLEM OF THE THIRD BASKET WOULD BE OVERCOME AND A COMMON AGREEMENT FOUND. HE SAID THAT SOME "CIRCLES" UNDERESTIMATE THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET POSITION, AND ADDED THAT NO ONE CAN HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD RETREAT FROM THIS POSITION AND ALLOW OTHERS TO MEDDLE IN THEIR AFFAIRS. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE US FAVORED MAXIMUM CONTACTS, BUT ALSO SUBSCRIBED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE SOVIET SYSTEM WOULD NOT BE TRANSFORMED BY NEGOTIATION. THIS ASPECT OF THE DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH A COMMON

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EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT A WAY COULD BE FOUND TO OVERCOME THE IMPASSE REGARDING A FORMULATION SATISFACTORY TO BOTH EAST AND WEST, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE, BUT OPENING THE DOOR TO MORE CONTACTS.

5. WITH REGARD TO INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, GROMYKO SAID THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE BURDENED WITH ISSUES AND PROPOSITIONS WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THE

SECRETARY MADE CLEAR THAT THIS WAS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO ALLIES, AND WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROACHED ON THE BASIS WHICH TOOK INTO ACCOUNT DOMESTIC CONCERNS IN THE WEST.

6. CONCERNING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, GROMYKO NOTED THAT SOME ALLIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO RAISE UNACCEPTABLE QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO MANEUVERS, LARGE AND SMALL TROOP MOVEMENTS, AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS. THERE IS AN ISSUE OVER THE DEFINITION OF WHAT IS LARGE AND WHAT IS SMALL. SOME PROPOSALS ADVANCED THUS FAR, HE SAID, ARE NOTHING SHORT OF RIDICULOUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ALL OF THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WITH RESPECT TO MANEUVERS. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. GROMYKO CONTINUED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH SOLUTIONS WOULD FAIL. HE HOPED FOR MORE REALISM.

THE SECRETARY RESPONDED WITH SMILE THAT THE US WOULD NOT REJECT INCLUDING ALL OF THE SOVIET UNION WITH REGARD TO ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS IF THE SOVIETS WANT TO AGREE TO IT.

7. MBFR WAS ONLY TOUCHED UPON IN THE DISCUSSION, WHEN IT WAS IDENTIFIED AS A MATTER THAT MIGHT BE RIPE FOR REVIEW WHEN THE PRESIDENT MEETS WITH BREZHNEV LATER THIS YEAR.

8. DISCUSSION ON BERLIN REFLECTED SOVIET VIEW THAT THE RECENT ACTIONS BY THE FRG WERE IN VIOLATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. IN THE ENSUING EXCHANGE, THE SECRETARY REVIEWED THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN POWERS, AND EXPRESSED REGRET ABOUT HARASSMENT CONTINUING ON THE AUTOBAHN. HE URGED GROMYKO TO URGE THE GDR NOT TO CONTINUE THIS HARASSMENT. KISSINGER

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